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PREPARING FOR FALL-OUT VICTIMS

London exhibition in 1960 FILMS, MUSIC, VARIETY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WANT

THE devoted contribution of the voluntary societies and the magnificent work of the United Nations agencies in the War on Want will play a prominent part in an exhibition to be held in London in 1960. It will plead, too, how much remains to be done in helping the great surge to better living standards overseas.

The developing countries regard the West less as the "free world" than as the "rich world." The Central Council for War on Want has borne this in mind when arranging the exhibition, which will feature the self-help of the emerging nations and the assistance of British industry.

A number of pavilions to be erected in the Central Hall will show:

1. The vast undertakings British civil engineering firms are at present engaged upon abroad—dams, land reclamation, forest conservation, docks, highways, railways and equipment, housing, schools and hospitals. The care and provision of the staff working upon these projects will also be featured.
2. The efforts of the developing nations undergoing great social change, what these nations have done in recent years and their plans for the future.
3. The refugee organisations at their humanitarian work.
4. The missionary medical and educational work, and the results of the United Nations agencies' projects.
5. The goods and equipment of British firms suitable for the special needs of developing overseas nations.

Two cinema units—one showing films of technical development and the other humanitarian work being carried out abroad—will add variety to a bill of events which includes demonstrations each evening, music, variety and public meetings.

Incentive to new enthusiasm

From **LESLIE HALE, MP**

MR. FRANK HARCOURT MURPHY'S courage and optimism would be a little disturbing had he not already given convincing proof of his organising ability in other fields of service. A War on Want exhibition organised on a grand scale should be a striking incentive to new enthusiasm, and, what is more important, new thinking on a subject which has tended to become a political bromide.

Politically nothing is in more danger than a policy which everyone approves in principle.

The Labour Party have made challenging and courageous proposals. A policy of encouraging colonial industrial development is not an easy electoral policy with 600,000 unemployed, but the help we can give is still inadequate. We still spend £1 on arms for every £d. we give to the world's starving children.

Pacifism has a solution to problems of world peace and reconstruction and could give a clear call to reason and to understanding. I wish pacifists would combine to make it.

FROM AUSTIN UNDERWOOD

SPEAKING at Salisbury last week, Mr. J. N. Barron, Director of the Plastic and Oral Surgery Unit at Odstock Hospital, near Salisbury, stated categorically that the hospital, in its plans for the future, is preparing for the problem of increasing numbers of children suffering from congenital deformities due to radiation.

The Odstock Unit is one of the foremost in the South of England for plastic surgery and has regular air-lift cases by helicopter for serious burn treatment. Mr. Barron is recognised as one of the foremost plastic surgeons in the country.

Mr. Barron was reported by the Salisbury Times, April 10, as saying: "We are expecting, in the next generation, to have an increasing input of children suffering from congenital deformities."

"This is not only because of inherited influence brought to bear by the parents, but also because of radiation."

He said that nobody could assess what effect radiation could have or what effects it was having on the parents of today and the future

in relationship to the yet unborn child.

The Salisbury Times article reporting Mr. Barron's speech continued:

"Following the meeting, Mr. Barron offered an amplifying explanation of his remarks to the Salisbury Times. The population of the world had been subject to radiation ever since its beginning, he said, and in one form or another it produced changes in the genetic structure. But if the dosage rate rose appreciably as the result of man's own activities medical authorities had to look, when planning for their work, at the deformities becoming more frequent in children of the Northern Hemisphere. From a planning point of view there was nothing that would suggest a decrease, but factors which would suggest an increase.

"Because of this, Odstock was not planning for a contracting service in the future, but for an increase.

"A hospital spokesman said that the expansion of the plastic unit at Odstock envisaged an increase of beds from about 76 to nearly 100, with, possibly, an increase in the medical team."

The statement was considered so important as to warrant the editorial of the Salisbury Times being devoted to it. The Editor, in his editorial on radiation hazards, drew attention to the fact that a year before he had commented on the dangerous effects of radio-active fall-out and the increase in cases of leukaemia, cancer and genetically injured children.

"Warnings from various sources in many nations went unheeded," states the editorial. The "statement from a specialist at Odstock Hospital should cause politicians, and certainly parents, to sit up and take notice."

INSIDE

FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Revolt in Britain's island base

VERA BRITAIN

Pacifism on the Pacific Coast

JAMES HUDSON

The future is with the Marchers:

an open letter to Francis Williams

JIM PECK

Saboteurs of Geneva talks

HAROLD BING

Peace movements in the 30s

STEVENAGE STRIKE AGAINST THE BOMB



Marching into the New Town Centre. Back page story.

A NEW HOME FOR PEACE NEWS

PEACE NEWS is going to town. A long-sought move to more prominent premises nearer Central London has become possible largely as the result of a magnificent anonymous gift of £5,000 for this specific purpose.

Shop premises with four floors and a basement in a main road have been purchased by the Board about 100 yards from King's Cross Station, and as from July 17 our address will be 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, N.1.

Two years ago, on the paper's 21st Birthday, we launched our Building Fund. The appeal, from the then chairman of the Board, Sybil Morrison and our joint Hon. Treasurers, Lady Clare Annesley and Vera Brittain, said:

"What Peace News needs most is new premises, more adequate offices, over a shop where Housmans can expand its already well-established book and stationery trade; a room set aside for

visitors, reference reading and meetings; overall a new workshop for peace where much more can be done."

This year those needs will be filled.

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The appeal suggested that rooms should commemorate such pacifist pioneers as George Lansbury, Dick Sheppard, Alex Wood, H. Runham Brown, Dr. Salter and Henry Carter; already £1,200 has been raised as an Alex Wilson Memorial Fund, while our present chairman, Vera Brittain, has given £100 for a Corder Catchpool Room. It is almost certain that the despatch room, hub of activity and voluntary effort, will bear Reginald Reynold's name.

As if to underline the fact that the work of many in the past has made it possible for Peace News to face the future with a measure of confidence and hope, the anonymous gift comes to us from a young man in his middle twenties. He had given much thought as to how best

he could use his money to further peace activity.

His decision to help Peace News acquire new premises is a challenge to everyone of us, for we shall still have to meet the problem of financing the paper week by week, of increasing its sale and spreading its influence.

As Michael Tippet wrote in Peace News on our 21st Birthday, "Peace News is a grown man. It has accepted with a gay seriousness the burdens of its function." It is with a gay seriousness that we go to town—at a cost of £7,700—with £6,500 in our Building Fund and so with a need for further gifts* to ensure that we enter the building without a debt.

*Please make remittances payable to Peace News Ltd. at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Mark envelopes "Building Fund," for this is quite separate from our fortnightly appeals for funds to meet the paper's publishing deficit.

AMERICANS ACT FOR PEACE

From our American correspondents

IN a near freezing temperature, well over 300 peace walkers converged on historic Boston Common on Saturday, March 28, for an hour-long silent meeting, following six-hour walks from Waltham, Melrose and Quincy, Massachusetts. The walks, which coincided with the Aldermaston March in Britain, climaxed a week of public demonstrations throughout the Greater Boston area and other parts of the United States, supporting a speedy and successful conclusion of the Geneva Conference to ban nuclear bomb tests.

Beginning from points on the perimeter of the area that would be destroyed if a hydrogen bomb were dropped on Boston, the walk groups passed through areas that would be completely destroyed in such an attack.

BOSTON

Co-leader of the quarter-mile-long Waltham group was 84-year-old Rev. George Lyman Paine, retired executive secretary of the Greater Boston Federation of Churches. Many mothers pushing baby carriages, children and a score of Brandeis University students participated.

Leaders of the 50 Quincy walkers were William Hodsdon, a Boston University student, and Orion Sherwood, who served 60 days in Honolulu jail for openly disobeying a Court order prohibiting the

**'Stump-Jump' plough
was their present
to Japan**

From Charles Stevenson

—Evandale, S. Australia.

VISITING Japan about two years ago, Mr. W. B. Kelly, a farmer from Kangaroo Island, 11 miles off the South Australian coast, was astonished to find huge areas of uncleared land similar to that being developed on his own Kangaroo Island.

Discovering that the methods used by the Japanese for the small amount of development taking place was inefficient, Mr. Kelly became convinced that the Australian "Stump-Jump" plough, used in practically all Australian new land farming, would be ideal for clearing Japan's undeveloped areas.

The Quakers of South Australia, interested in the problem of world hunger, invited Mr. Kelly to give an address on the problem as he saw it in Asia. When asked how practical help could be given to ease the situation, Mr. Kelly volunteered his belief in the "Stump-Jump" plough. The 830 Quakers of all Australia thereupon raised the £500 necessary to purchase the plough, which was presented recently to a visiting Japanese, Dr. M. Nakajima, co-ordinator of all grassland farming in Japan.

Thus, "beating swords into ploughshares," as it were, a plough may well become a symbol of friendship and understanding between Australia and Japan.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"
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Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
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6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

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170 "Act for Peace" walkers arriving at Boston Common from Waltham, Mass, on March 28.

ketch Golden Rule from sailing into the Eniwetok nuclear bomb test area last year.

Russell Johnson, pointing out that New Englanders are traditionally a conservative group of people, said, "These walks showed that more and more people in this area are becoming more interested in alternatives to our present foreign policy. This was the largest demonstration of its kind in many years in Boston."

All walkers were pledged to a non-violent discipline similar to the one used during the Montgomery, Alabama, non-violent resistance to bus segregation. Walkers wore armbands of United Nations blue as a symbol of hope for a peaceful world.

"No retaliation in action or in spirit will be offered to verbal or physical violence if it occurs," said the briefing given to the marchers.

CHICAGO

More than 250 people marched through the Chicago Loop with the following slogans: "We must stand up for peace,

walk for peace, suffer for peace, but not kill for peace," "War—We Say No—Without Qualification," "All atoms for Peace," "Annihilation or Life—Work Together for Peace," "Must All Children Perish—Begin Disarmament Now," "That Men May Live—Work for Peace," "Swords into Plowshares—Mankind Hungers for Peace not Military Equipment," "We Seek Peace and

Life," "Non-Violent Resistance—An Honourable National Defence," "Apathy Brings War—Wake Up and Act."

Among the marchers were Congressman William Meyer, who had been elected on a peace platform of cessation of nuclear tests, Chicago Labour leader Sidney Lens, atomic physicist William Davidson, and others from the city's religious and university life.

The march of 28 demonstrators wound up a week of activity which included the distribution of 65,000 leaflets, a 24-hour vigil in near-freezing temperature, public pamphlet sales and motorcades.

The march ended in Grant Park with the reading of the following statement, after which there was a period of meditation and prayer:

"We are carried back in memory today to all the ages of man's suffering as a victim of war, particularly to the tragic deaths of the Jewish people of Germany and the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We look with fear to a future in which

Chicago might suffer the same dread fate.

"We renounce the use of mass violence which would destroy the peoples of many other countries as well as our own. We look with hope to a future in which a new world of peace can be built. We join with many around the world today in dedicating ourselves to building a peaceful world by peaceful means, by honest negotiation,

world disarmament, international organisation, a vast and compassionate offering of our resources to countries in need. We believe that these policies motivated and governed by love can bring the world new hope for peace and life. We appeal for the support of all men of faith and good will, that men may live."

PHILADELPHIA

A 100-mile motorcade encircled the area of greater Philadelphia which would be destroyed by an H-bomb dropped on City Hall, and groups of people walked the 15 miles from points on the perimeter of the simulated blast area to the Reynburn Plaza, outdoor amphitheatre adjacent to City Hall.

The first group of walkers arrived almost eight hours after having set out from Moorestown, New Jersey. The group, about 25, looked a little bedraggled and cold as they waited for the others. Posters were wet—but spirits were good. As they waited a second group arrived from Media, fifteen miles west of Philadelphia. The final group came in from the North.

THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA, 1959

WRITES BASIL DELAINE, FROM JOHANNESBURG

A WHITE South African has been so severely beaten up in a police cell at Vanderbijlpark near here that he is on the brink of death.

He is Mr. T. D. van Schalkwyk, of Roodia Plots, near Johannesburg.

Mr. van Schalkwyk was coming out of an hotel with a friend when he collapsed.

The friend went to get his car. When he returned he was told Mr. van Schalkwyk had been put into a police van.

Next morning, when Mrs. van Schalkwyk saw her husband in a police cell he was so badly injured he did not recognise her.

Through her insistence, the injured man was taken to hospital.

There, reports the "Sunday Express of Johannesburg, his worst injuries were found to include:

A ruptured liver, a ruptured bladder, irreparable damage to his intestines, and so much internal bleeding that he had to be given 22 pints of blood.

Apparently, the man had been kicked and jumped upon for a long period.

Daily beatings

When he was sent to hospital a charge of drunkenness was dropped immediately.

Today, two months after the beating, doctors despair of saving Mr. van Schalkwyk's life.

Unconscious most of the time, he is un-

able to make any statement to the investigation authorities.

Brutalities by the South African Police are a part of the "police state" pattern of life in South Africa.

Beatings of Africans and Coloureds occur daily—in prisons, police stations, and even in city streets.

One Johannesburg African, Sydney Andrews (24), had his face smashed to pulp one Friday evening in a main street of the city by two White policemen wielding a baton and a revolver butt.

Prison or slavery

Sydney's crime was that he stepped between the police and his friend whom the policemen were arresting for failing to produce a pass (identity card).

Sydney told me later: "I was suddenly so filled with anger about my people having to suffer for forgetting to carry their passes, that I just had to make a protest."

After the beating, which resulted in Sydney being committed to hospital, he was charged with assaulting the police!

The most appalling aspect of the iniquitous pass system is the method used for punishing defaulters.

If an African cannot afford the £2 ad-

mission-of-guilt, which the majority cannot, he is put in a cell for a night or two and then taken before the District Commissioner.

The pass defaulter is asked: "Do you want to go to jail for two months or would you prefer to work on a farm?"

If he chooses the farm, he chooses slavery.

For farmers make their "volunteer labourers" work in the fields from sunrise to sunset on two plates of wishy-washy porridge.

Died after beating

Those who dare ease up with their task risk a beating from the farmer himself or from his white foremen or black "boss boys."

A few weeks ago, on a farm only 60 miles from Johannesburg, a "volunteer" died after a beating and was buried in a trench by five of his workmates who were warned to "keep quiet about this" by a white foreman.

Although the labourers are supposed to receive 9d. a day, some farmers fail to pay.

All men when they have finished their term of "voluntary labour" have to walk home.

One told me this week that he was forced to walk more than 120 miles with bare feet, no money and no food. This I confirmed later from an official source. This is South Africa 1959. . . .

These are everyday happenings which most people in this brutal country take for granted.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES



Films and values

IN the first week in May, the British Film Institute and the Joint Council for Education through Art are holding a forum on Film and Television.

The aim of the Forum is to see how much film and television help to create our values and what sort of values these are; what are the pressures on the artists who work in these mediums, and how are they able to get round them.

Of particular interest to pacifists will be the session on Saturday afternoon, May 9, when Stuart Hall, who is an editor of Universities and Left Review, will analyse how the cinema deals with war. He will analyse the recent British film "The Bridge on the River Kwai," the story of which was serialised in PN some months ago. After this a recent American film "Paths of Glory" will be shown. I can recommend anybody to go and see this film.

It deals with an incident that actually took place in the First World War when some French troops were made to attack an impregnable German position because of some political manoeuvrings in the French High Command. When the attack failed four men were shot *pour encourager les autres*. Stanley Kubrick, the film's very young director, brilliantly portrays how generals use the war and the men who take part in it as a way of furthering their own ambitions.

Other features of the week will include "how cinema and television deal with young people," in which Peter Worsley, who contributed to our Christmas book number, will take part, and Lindsay Anderson, who was one of the people responsible for the making of the Aldermaston march film, on "the responsibility of the artist."

Politics by the sea

ALAN LOVELL recently went to Southend to speak for the Direct Action Committee on "Voters' Veto" to

the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Group.

There were only about ten people at the meeting, but it was one of the liveliest and most encouraging meetings that he has spoken at. "Even those who disagreed with what I said (and they were in a minority) were friendly and sympathetic and very concerned about their attitude to the next election," he tells me.

Southend is not one of the best places to preach radical politics—both its parliamentary seats are fairly safe seats for the Tories—but the Southend group seem to be doing a very good job. In the recent by-election the group was able to make the position that all the candidates took on nuclear disarmament perfectly clear by the letters they wrote and the questions they asked.

It was heartening to discover that many of the most active people in the group were pacifists and that apart from their campaign activities they found time to sell PN.

Successful 'pirates'

DIRECT action by Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist Party, has been paying big dividends in the last few days.

Radio Wales, the Party's "pirate" transmitter, which has recently been on the air in South Wales, has attracted many people's attention to the tyrannical methods adopted by the big Parties to keep Plaid Cymru quiet by the imposition of a broadcasting ban.

Last week the Party's General Secretary, Mr. J. E. Jones, announced that the rate of

applications for Party membership had more than doubled since the broadcasts began.

There was an amusing moment during comments on the Budget last week when the announcer said that Radio Wales had hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer might reduce purchase tax on radio transmitters, but "that was, perhaps, expecting a little too much."

Editing from hospital

PEACE NEWS readers on both sides of the Atlantic will be sorry to hear that Jim Peck, one of the crew members of the "Golden Rule," which attempted to sail into the Pacific H-Bomb testing area, is in hospital with T.B.

According to his doctors he has had it for about eight months, which indicates that he contracted it while in Honolulu Jail, to which the crew were sent for 60 days after their ketch was arrested on the high seas.

Jim Peck is continuing to edit the War Resisters League News and to do work for the League and the Congress of Racial Equality from the hospital.

His "Letter from America" appears on page eight.

Appeals answered

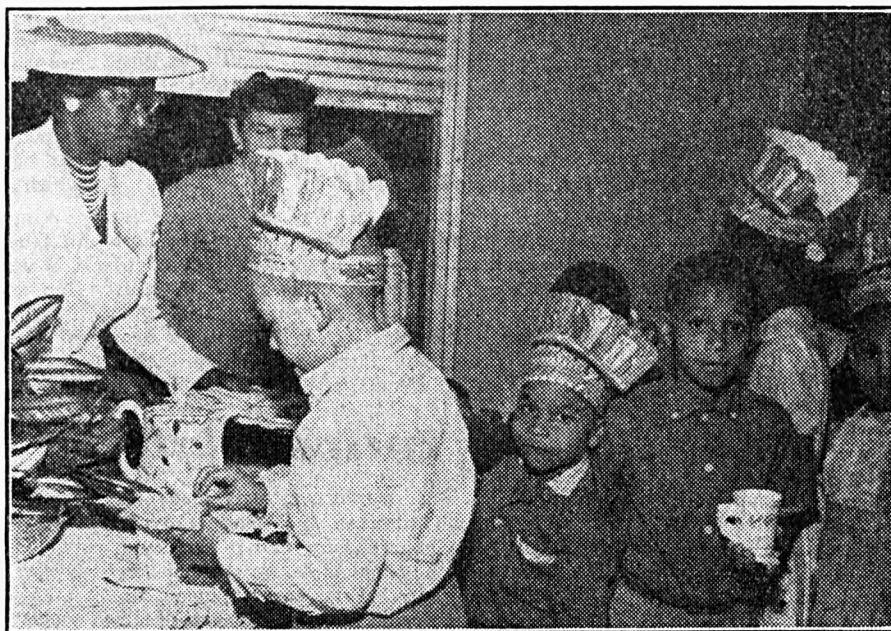
THE Bulgarian Government has released one of the country's leading pacifists from jail.

The current issue of the War Resister announces that Yordan Kovatcev, a former Council member of the War Resisters' International and one of Eastern Europe's finest poets, is now back at his home in Plovdiv.

Last year 15 British MPs wrote to the Bulgarian President saying that Kovatcev's liberation would enhance the name of Bulgaria in the many countries where the poet's work was known.

This and other appeals went unanswered, but now it is known that the appeals were worthwhile.

—Phyz



One way of helping integration in US schools is shown in this Congress of Racial Equality photo. The inter-racial parent teachers association of a Nashville (Tennessee) school laid on a party for the children, bringing both parents and children together in an informal social atmosphere.

ANOTHER MILESTONE

THE twenty-second Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union is being held at the Bristol, on Saturday and Sunday, April 18 and 19.

On the Saturday members have the opportunity of discussing the work of the PPU during the past year in the various reports attached to the agenda. The financial report and full statement of income and expenditure and of our general financial position will also be presented. The business sessions will conclude with a report and discussion on Peace News.

On Sunday the AGM will be looking ahead, and there are four motions and several amendments down for discussion, which involve the wording of the pledge, methods of defence, and the relationship of the PPU to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Direct Action Committee.

The AGM should therefore be interesting and lively, but the gathering is also important for the opportunity it provides for fellowship. We hope that many members living in the West Country will be able to get to Bristol, though they cannot often get to London.

But even if you cannot come, you can share in the fellowship of the AGM and in helping to make the PPU more able to carry out the work of winning others to pacifism. We hope that the AGM will inspire all present to further action, but action needs money, and for that we rely partly on you. Please, therefore, send a special AGM contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS, Gen. Secretary.

Our aim for 1959: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £340.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.



50 anti-H-bomb candidates?

AT the Fellowship Party's Fourth Annual Conference at Kingsway Hall on Saturday, April 4, Ronald Mallone appealed for an Election Fund of £7,500 to furnish the deposits for 50 candidates at the General Election. Fifty candidates would bring the right for an election address on radio and television to state the complete case against war.

Pacifist candidates were much in evidence at the conference. Bob Trafford, who has thrice contested local government elections and is prospective Parliamentary Fellowship Party candidate for Peterborough, headed the poll in votes for the National Executive. John Loverseed, who contested South Lewisham in 1955, was re-elected President by one vote over Eric Fenner, an anti-H-bomb candidate at Battersea at the last General Election.

A motion recognising the £150 deposit as "a bar to minority Parliamentary aspirations and undemocratic" was moved by Bob Walsh, the ex-Labour councillor, who is fighting for the Fellowship Party at the local government elections in Paddington next month, and seconded by Denis Conabere, who is contesting the Allyn Ward in Dulwich.

Earlier the Conference had resolved to form a Youth Section of the Fellowship Party for members between 16 and 30.

The prospective Parliamentary candidate for West Woolwich, Ronald Mallone, moved three important motions on international affairs. The first denounced the use of armed force in Nyasaland, and recommended that "a United Nations Commission be sent to investigate the causes of conflict, the alleged massacre conspiracy, and to supervise a referendum in which all of 21 years and over may

vote on the future status of Nyasaland."

The second motion, carried unanimously, clearly stressed the pacifist faith of the Fellowship Party:

"Believing that today war is the greatest evil and threatens the very existence of the human race, this Conference reaffirms its faith in non-violent methods of resisting evil and achieving good, and calls on HM Government to begin total disarmament by ending the manufacture of nuclear weapons and inviting United Nations Observers to supervise the destruction of existing stocks. It believes that such a practical proof of goodwill is needed to remove the imminent vulnerability of Britain and to put HM Government in a position to act as a reconciler between the governments of the USA and USSR."

A third motion, carried nem. con., urged "HM Government to invite all governments not possessing nuclear weapons to join it in a conference at which it will publicly renounce nuclear weapons and announce plans for non-nuclear governments to join in acts of reconciliation to end the cold war between the USA and the USSR and to prevent a final world war."

PACIFIST GAINS IN DUTCH ELECTION

AN error occurred in the newsagency report of the Dutch Election results published in Peace News on March 20.

The Rev. Nico van der Veen, not Dr. Noordenbos, was the second Pacifist Socialist Party member elected. The new MP, a young and active pacifist, is a member of the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Briefly

The Monte Bello Islands, off North-West Australia, where Britain's first nuclear test was held more than three years ago, are still dangerously radio-active, a Royal Australian Navy spokesman admitted on April 1. After testing a nuclear device on the islands, British scientists exploded two "small" nuclear weapons there.

The British Government has "reviewed" its contribution to the UN Children's Fund—and kept it at £235,000 for 1959.

"Dirty" nuclear tests carried out last year in the Soviet Union are accelerating the rate of radio-active fall-out in the United States, the US Atomic Energy Commission announces. Preliminary reports on this latest dose of Strontium 90 supports theories about faster fall-out rates recently advanced in Washington but not fully accepted by the AEC.

The Greek arms bill for 1959 is \$125,580,000—23 per cent of total Government expenditure.

The first US missiles for bases in Northern Italy reached Venice last week.

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, UN's Secretary-General, said at the opening meeting in Mexico City last week of the UN Economic and Social Council that economic progress of the under-developed countries was "painfully slow."

Danilo Dolci's work in Sicily for the destitute was aided by a collection of £105 in London at a public meeting on April 3. The money is to support an agricultural expert in Menfi.

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Myth of the wondermen

DR. ADENAUER is likely to become the next President of the West German Republic. As yet it is hard to see what this change means. The Germans may have, at last, revolted against Adenauer's intransigent attitude to foreign affairs—an attitude which has so far prevented any possibility of successful negotiations with the Russians.

It is more likely that the change is a tactical move by Adenauer. He is a very old man, not in the best of health, and the day-to-day pressure of the Chancellorship has recently been proving too much for him. He therefore sees the Presidency as a way of escaping from this pressure.

He is unlikely to be only a formal President. Adenauer is reported to have shown a great interest in the new French constitution and in particular the position of General de Gaulle. He probably sees himself as a German de Gaulle, holding a formal position but in fact being the chief force in the government.

If this surmise is correct, it will be more evidence of a very disturbing trend in Western Government. Of the major Western Powers, the President of the United States is 68 and a sick man, the British Prime Minister is 65, the French President is 68, and Adenauer is 83.

Age is not the only disadvantage of these men. They also have a disturbing lack of ability for the jobs they have to perform. To hear one of President Eisenhower's speeches is to hear a complete absence of thought hidden in a morass of clichés and mumblings. Mr. Macmillan's flippancy is frightening ("there ain't gonna be no war," "little local difficulties"). General de Gaulle's poverty as far as a positive political programme is concerned is now beginning to emerge clearly. And we have already remarked on Adenauer's inflexibility.

But there is an even more disturbing feature that these men share. Increasingly they are being presented as something more than human. This tendency was strikingly evident in the two American presidential elections. Eisenhower was made to appear as a father figure, above all political conflicts, and yet perfectly able to deal with the mundane problems of politics. De Gaulle has presented himself in the same way, as a sort of semi-divine incarnation of the spirit of France. And only last week the Manchester Guardian commented that for many West Germans Adenauer was West Germany. We in Britain have recently seen how an advertising machinery has been used in an attempt to make Macmillan into something extraordinary (Macwonder, as it is sometimes put).

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THIS development is no accident. The arrival of the H-bomb has made all our previous politics seem trivial. But the Bomb is only the logical end of trends in Western society. In every part of life, government, entertainment, work, people are treated less and less as individuals and more and more as a vast amorphous crowd. The result of this is that people feel this loss of individuality and lose confidence in their ability to change the world they live in. They resign themselves to apathy.

The ground is prepared for the kind of development we have described. People begin to feel that the old politicians are not big enough for the new problems. The old politicians cannot change and they do not want to lose their jobs. So the publicity machine is set to work to create the illusion of new politicians.

The easiest way this can be done is by personalising one man and making him all important. The people then feel that they have some personal contact with their leader while feeling at the same time that he is a large enough figure to deal with the problems of the H-bomb era.

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THIS is very dangerous. It means that people are contracting out of their own responsibilities and leaving it all to "superman." Now no man is fitted to deal with such problems. They are too much for him, and the likelihood is that he will break under the strain.

Our concern should be to get people to acknowledge their responsibilities once more. As Alex Comfort has said, "We will be the Maquis of peace. They have shown us that it can be done—that we can keep the shell of society while devouring its heart and undermining its tyranny. Our only weapon is responsibility. Murder and sabotage are not responsible weapons—they are the actions of desperate men or imbeciles. . . . The sphere of our disobedience is limited to the sphere in which society exceeds its powers and its usefulness. . . . When . . . the mention of war empties the factories and fills the streets we may be able to talk about freedom."

New President . . .

AMONG the reasons which prompted Dr. Adenauer to accept the nomination of the Christian Democrats for election as President of the West German Federal Republic in September were the difficulty of agreement on any other member of the Party suggested, and the growing restlessness within the Party about the inflexible attitude the Chancellor has adopted towards the discussions with the Soviet Union on the German problem. It was important for CDU to put up a strong candidate for the Presidency; it was essential for Dr. Adenauer to find a way of maintaining his prestige and position.

To Dr. Adenauer has gone much of the credit for the exceptional recovery of Western Germany since the war, though he was not the author of the economic policy upon which the recovery was built. For that Dr. Erhardt has been responsible, and he is the most likely successor to Dr. Adenauer as Chancellor.

Though recent utterances have indicated that he has never quite forgiven the British for his dismissal from the office of Mayor of Cologne, Dr. Adenauer has based his policy for 10 years on the belief that the interests of Western Germany, which were to him synonymous with the interests of the CDU, were best served by the integration of West Germany into NATO and a close association with the policy of Britain, America and France.

So long as that policy involved shelving the problem of German reunification all was well. Once, however, it became certain that the British Government at least was determined to try to solve by negotiation at top level some of the problems which have kept Europe on edge for the past 10 years, Dr. Adenauer has been in a dilemma, since it is doubtful if he has ever wanted to see Germany reunited.

He has now made it plain that not only is he adamant in opposition to any recognition of the East German Government, but that he is also opposed to any negotiations with Russia to whom he still wants to dictate terms. That view is no longer shared by a growing number of members of Dr. Adenauer's own Party and is rejected by large numbers of other Germans.

. . . no retirement

DR. ADENAUER has therefore astutely made the best of a difficult situation by being ready to abandon the post of Chancellor for that of President. For in so doing he is not contemplating relinquishing his authority. The Federal President nominates the Chancellor, though the person nominated has to obtain a majority of votes of Bundestag members, and the Federal Chancellor has to submit the names of his Ministers to the President.

Dr. Adenauer thus hopes to be able to control the main lines of CDU policy in the immediate future. Even so it is doubtful if he would have agreed to the new arrangement had it not been for his closer association in recent months with General de Gaulle, and his knowledge of what has happened in France. The General has become President instead of Prime Minister but only to invest his new office with increased power.

All those who have the best interests of Germany as a whole and of the peace of Europe at heart will, therefore, do well to strengthen the opposition to those policies with which Dr. Adenauer has been so closely associated, and to do everything possible to prevent his obtaining a stranglehold on negotiations with the Soviet Union or with the Government of East Germany.

For years Peace News has claimed that the only peaceful solution of the German policy was to be found in the collaboration of the peoples of West and East Germany through their representatives, and agreement on some form of union, federal or otherwise; and that to facilitate that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the whole of Germany, which should undertake to become disarmed again and politically neutral.

The fact that Mr. Khrushchov has indicated a willingness under those circumstances to withdraw Soviet troops from Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and the readiness on the part of both Government and Opposition in Britain to think in terms of some form of disengagement shows that, even if slowly, the political reality of the pacifist solution is being recognised.

Tibet

LETTERS have continued to appear in the Press appealing for aid for the peoples of Tibet against Chinese Communist imperialism. Some writers call for an Indian military invasion to restore the status quo, whilst others urge that the United Nations Security Council should send out a UN police force. Another suggests forming a society to help the Tibetans similar to the Abyssinia Association of the mid-thirties which "assisted the Emperor Haile Selassie eventually to return to his capital after the brilliant military campaign."

These writers have sounder hearts than heads. The

traditional response to military imperialism has been counter-militarism, but today such a policy can no longer operate.

The enormous forces available to the "Chinese People's Liberation Army" rule out of question any Indian invasion. If such action were taken by any of the Great Powers it would inevitably create the conditions for a global disaster.

The "small" nations are powerless in the face of the Great Powers, which cannot attack each other without precipitating the preliminaries to World War III. This was the lesson which Mr. Dulles may have learned at the time of the Hungarian revolt, though he has never altered his policies to meet this recognition.

In this situation some people, sensing the uselessness of old-style militarism, think they see a safe alternative in "police actions" in the name of the United Nations. They doubtless have in mind UN activities in the Middle East following the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956. But no UN police force or observer corps can function without the blessing—or at least the tolerance—of the Great Powers, as happened in the Middle-East. Certainly it could not conduct a military offensive against China limited to "even" Korean dimensions.

This argument is reinforced by Communist China's unique attitude to the UN. In any discussion in the Security Council Russia must automatically become the spokesman for Peking for the simple reason that for years China has been denied by Washington its seat in the Security Council. This has meant that China has been forced to rely heavily on Russia in any matters concerning the UN, thus strengthening the Moscow-Peking axis, and that China understandably has been unwilling to co-operate with a body from which it is ignobly debarred.

A motion in the UN to denounce the Chinese action in Tibet, however, would be of great value, though the UN would have greater moral authority if its membership were more representative.

One further argument about Tibet has been raised which aims to show that the present tragedy could have been averted if only Tibet had possessed a "great deterrent." The clear logic of this argument is that the world will be safer when every nation has nuclear weapons. Yet this is demonstrably not true: nobody suggests that the Great Powers should give nuclear weapons to, say, Israel and her Arab neighbours in order to prevent another war. These weapons serve to increase political tension, as we are now seeing in Central Europe.

Iraq's oil

WITH regard to the conflicting reports from the Middle-East about the political situation in Iraq, and the intentions of General Kassem and his Economic Affairs Minister, Dr. Kubba, in their negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company, the truth is probably that, in the first place, General Kassem simply wants 60 per cent of the company's profits instead of the present 50.

If he obtains this, all well and good for the time being, though not perhaps for any great length of time. If he does not, the prospect of nationalisation, which he strongly denies at present, will come closer.

In itself, nationalisation would mean an access of strength to the already considerable elements of Communism in Iraq and the coming of more and more Russian experts, the more so since there is plenty of room for further exploration.

But nationalisation also implies a worsening of relations with the West and therefore probable difficulty in selling the nationalised oil. In that case, willingly or unwillingly, Moscow would "have to do something about it." Not needing it themselves and being, moreover, unable to transport it cheaply and safely to their own territory, the Russians could not fail to look upon that oil as a most useful aid in their economic competition with the West—with highly injurious consequences upon all the other oil-exporting countries of the Middle-East.

Indifferent themselves to direct financial results, they could be expected to use Iraq's oil to damage these other countries' oil interests sufficiently to render them dissatisfied with their arrangements with the West. At the least, therefore, the situation is one in which there is little hope of the Middle-East settling down to restful conditions.

And in addition to this, irrespective of the result of the Kassem-Iraq Petroleum Company negotiations, it has already become practically impossible for Iraq and Egypt to come together in renewed friendship, unless either the Kassem or the Nasser regime collapses—which, again, must mean disturbance and all sorts of dangers.

Berlin is not the only danger spot in the world.

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Pacifism on the Pacific coast

AN editorial article by Ralph Allen, of Maclean's Magazine, has created a furore throughout Canada. This article, entitled "The Dilemma of our Defence Policy," takes the view that Canada is obsolete as a military nation, and should set an example in disarmament.

At the end of a very tough three weeks' lecture tour for the American Friends' Service Committee recently, I came into Western Canada for five engagements in Vancouver and three in Victoria, British Columbia. It may seem somewhat illogical to begin these articles at the place where my tour ends, but I want to write of Ralph Allen's article while it is still topical, for it is indeed a remarkable contribution to appear in this huge, tranquil and unrevolutionary country.

DYNAMIC ARTICLE

Maclean's is the most important magazine in Canada, covering and influencing the whole vast territory much as the Saturday Evening Post influences and covers the United States. It exists for good-level entertainment rather than political controversy, but occasionally a dynamic political article appears. This may take either a conservative or liberal standpoint. Beverley Baxter, MP, is a regular contributor, but so is the liberal and brilliant Canadian novelist Hugh MacLennan, whose most important book so far, "The Watch That Ends The Night," appeared a few weeks ago. The magazine is a fortnightly publication.

To understand the courage shown by Ralph Allen's article, it is necessary briefly to consider the present position of Canada. Geographically, culturally and militarily Canadians still feel themselves to be on the side-lines, and are deeply and uncomfortably conscious of their domina-

tion by the United States. Indeed, the current fear of their great neighbour to the south seems to be more conspicuous at any rate in these two large Western cities than of the remote Soviet Union.

Three nights ago, after I had spoken in a crowded meeting at Vancouver of the extent to which many British people are now working for the unilateral renunciation of nuclear tests and the H-bomb, a questioner asked: "But would the United States let Britain do that?" I explained that, even now, the American Government did not dictate British policy and could not, provided that our people

their leaflets, though they will not have them on their Board of Directors.

When one of these amiable Communists asked me a polite public question after the meeting, I took the opportunity of explaining—I hope with equal politeness—that though pacifists and Communists may work for peace by similar means, their basic ends are totally different.

Before this meeting, a still young Quaker who has settled here from Leicester, Frank Steggle, who as a boy attended a Leicester mass meeting addressed by Dick Sheppard, read out some relevant paragraphs from Ralph Allen's article.

By VERA BRITAIN

accepted the economic and military consequences of our decision.

My Vancouver meeting was organised, under the auspices of Mildred Fahrni, whom I met at the World Pacifist Meeting in India ten years ago, by a characteristic group composed of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Quakers. The Victoria meeting two days ago (also full to capacity) was organised by a more original body only five months old, which calls itself "The Society for Peace by Peaceful Means."

It was started by a lively young local couple of Scottish origin, Glen and Rosemary Hamilton, who write articles on social questions which bring in the relevance of world peace. On their Board of Directors are individual members not only of Friends and FoR, but from the Council of Women and the local University of British Columbia alumni. They are also original in allowing a few remarkably placid local Communists to address their envelopes and distribute

Suggesting three alternatives for Canadian policy today, Ralph Allen concentrates on the third:

"Make an open announcement that Canada has discovered itself to be obsolete as a military nation and intends therefore to sue for peace mainly as an economic and political nation. Honour our existing military commitments until they run out, but make it clear that our ultimate establishment will consist only of modest, moderately armed mobile units available for United Nations police duty. And commit ourselves firmly to spend every last dollar thus pared from our defence budget in aid to less favoured countries.

"This, we know, is a variation of the easy pacifism that has so often been discredited in the past. But today there are important differences. Economic aid has been proved to be a far more useful—and a far less expensive—weapon in the struggle for men's minds than anyone realised even so

recently as a decade ago. The need of some check on armaments is clearly visible to the Pentagon and to the Kremlin alike as the only alternative to race suicide. In spite of its past failures, disarmament remains our last and only hope of survival."

SIZEABLE MINORITY

I need hardly emphasize how vitally helpful it would be to British peace groups if even a sizeable minority of Canadians pressed for this policy.

It is greatly to the credit of these lovely Western cities that some citizens should so bravely implement their growing concern. Vancouver, for all its beauty, is a great port with many and complex relationships to countries across the Pacific, but Victoria, especially in spring, is a little earthly paradise where lotus-eating could be a great temptation. Full of retired British people and many others still working, it is as though Torquay had established itself on an island (as large as Wales) (Vancouver Island facing Vancouver City across the Puget Sound), surrounded itself with snow-capped mountains, and floated to the edge of this idyllic ocean.

For the Easter week-end I am staying comfortably at the local Empress Hotel as the guest of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which I have used extensively. Below me as I write at my sunny window are golden bushes of broom and rows of orange-centred daffodils like English daffodils gone to Heaven. But a brief three days of comfort after one has been the target for press-men, radio-interviewers and organisers for three strenuous weeks is unlikely to interfere seriously with the driving tempo of a busy life. Perpetual, glorious and colourful comfort is more difficult to transcend, and these Canadians who have transcended it deserve to be watched and supported.

(Next week: The Pacific Coast of U.S.A.)

GERMANY: MILITARISM REVISITED—II

WILL MY PEOPLE WAKE TO THE DANGER?

THE present German political situation is dictated by feelings, not by common sense. Our people are gifted with some of the most extreme feelings the human race produces.

Several German poets and musicians represent the deepest feelings of the world, together with an international group of famous men. And we are proud of this—sometimes too proud. Yet we are always inclined to create a way of feeling that is quite different. This kind of feeling has to be watched in the German public.

Though the well-known French writer Mauriac is misinformed and totally wrong in thinking that the Swastika of Nazism is again flying over our towns, there is an underground anti-semitism. Sometimes we read in our papers that graveyards and synagogues have been painted with the emblems of Nazism. But all the daily papers and the serious weeklies are regretting and condemning these happenings.

When some weeks ago an old man published in a booklet some queer and insane ideas about the Jewish people, the Lord Mayor of Hamburg travelled to Bonn to talk with Dr. Adenauer about this fact. The Press reacted with such instant protest that the judge who acquitted the man resigned from his post, and a public discussion began about the past of the judge in the Federal Republic.

Jew hatred

Very often articles about Judaism, Jewish artists and the Jewish religion are published and broadcast. The world's greatest exhibition of paintings of Marc Chagall, who is the grandson of a Russian Jewish Rabbi, has been shown in Hamburg, and thousands of people, especially young people, have seen it.

It may be that in the last year the anti-semitic attitude of our Press has been growing to an extent that might create the contrary of the desired result.

In a lot of talks with my teaching colleagues I found that even they regret the so-called "artificial pro-Jewish attitude" of our public. They fear that the good relations between the different racial and religious groups within our country are spoiled by this abnormal emphasis. Many of them fear the growing of anti-semitism because of this fact.

Anti-semitism is indeed a problem of our people, but we are sure to overcome this feeling by the psychologically sound education of children and grown-ups.

Another feeling, which is far more dangerous, is systematically bred by our Press: the national spirit.

For some weeks the main parties have run a campaign with the symbol of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, and the slogan "Open the gate!" addressed to the Soviets. Not only prominent Party leaders, but famous artists, scientists and sportsmen, are selling a badge with the Brandenburg Gate for fourpence

When this action started in Hamburg one could count the men not wearing this badge, but meantime most of the people have taken it off, and it seems as if this campaign is dying again. Nevertheless, the enthusiastic "yes" during the first days shows that the German public means to get better conditions for the Germans in the Communist part of our country by such means, in which all the guilt for the present situation is handed over to Mr. Khrushchov.

In addition to this, many intellectuals here think that the West German citizens believe they have done enough for reunification of Germany by buying a badge and assisting morally the "Germany Indivisible" committee.

"That is all we can do," a friend of mine said very sarcastically. "Instead of beginning to open the gate on our side by the renunciation of atomic weapons, we ask the Soviets to start."

Berlin worth war?

This uncertain, but strongly increased, national spirit is very much needed in current politics it seems. One cannot ignore the supposition that we are prepared by this to accept a war for the freedom of Berlin.

The slogan "Berlin is worth a journey," which is heard all over the Federal Republic now, may be easily turned into: "Berlin is worth a war."

And the visit of the American Professor Henry Kissinger, propagating a limited war, was very suitable for Mr. Strauss and Dr. Adenauer, who had a long talk with the professor on a new war theory.

It may be of interest to know what Mr. Kissinger said in an interview when being asked what to do in case the traffic between the Federal Republic and Berlin was blocked:

"I would, if necessary, try to break through for Berlin, even risking a war. . .

We would invite the UN to see that we are not the ones shooting first. . . I would compel the other side to shoot first. Then I would shoot."

Following the visit of Kissinger to West Germany, several politicians confirmed the intention of the Free World to stand firm in Berlin even if a war were risked. And the journey of the Lord Mayor of Berlin through the USA and Asia obviously served the same purpose.

There was no cry of indignation and horror throughout Germany when some headlines in our papers showed us this intention to risk a war. Not even letters to the editor concerning this problem appeared in the papers.

Our people are so certain and unsuspecting in our wealthy way of life that the common man is not able to realise the deadly danger. Yet awareness is increasing in some groups, and our hope lies in the possibility that here and there men and women are turning to direct action.

IS PEACE POSSIBLE?

Your questions answered

by VICKY

(Evening Standard Cartoonist)

JAMES CAMERON

(News Chronicle Columnist)

KATHLEEN LONSDALE F.R.S. D.B.E.

(Scientist and Writer)

STUART MORRIS M.A.

(Gen. Sec. Peace Pledge Union)

Chairman:

SYBIL MORRISON

(Peace Pledge Union)

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Harold Bing reviews

Who was for Munich? The role of the peace movements in the 1930s. 16 pp., 9d.

THIS is No. 1 in a series of pamphlets to be published by the University Group on Defence Policy, of which Professor D. V. Glass is Chairman. According to the preface, this group "was set up in 1958 by a number of university teachers and research workers who were and still are critical of the Government's defence policy."

"The members of the group came together because they agreed that there is an urgent need for the study and discussion of matters bearing upon defence policy, and especially of those issues relevant to nuclear armaments."

In discussing current defence policy the Group decided that there was need to clarify the role of the Peace Movements in the 1930s and a study group was formed on this question. This pamphlet gives its findings.

★

The issue with which the study group was particularly concerned was the truth of the frequently made charge that it was the attitude of the Peace Movements in the 1930s which hampered the Governments of that period in resisting aggressors, prevented British rearmament, compelled the appeasement policy of Munich and thereby brought about the Second World War.

Their general conclusion is that "the

charges against the Peace Movements and the Left are part of a mythology of the 1930s which was erected by the ex-Munich people anxious to clear themselves, by Conservatives anxious to score what points they could in the 1945 pre-election period, and . . . since elaborated by supporters of the cold war anxious to label their opponents as 'appeasers'."

In the first place it should be made clear that by Peace Movements the authors are not concerned with the pacifists, whom they recognise as a relatively small minority. "It is quite impossible to hold," they say, "that as an organised group they were ever of decisive political importance. The only question is whether, as a quasi-pacifist current of opinion, they encouraged potential aggressors to under-estimate the British peoples' will to resist, or whether they discouraged vote hunting politicians from sponsoring policies of resistance. From the middle of 1935 the evidence that the bulk of British opinion was not pacifist is overpowering."

The pacifists are therefore let out. Perhaps this will be little comfort to readers of Peace News, for not only is the pacifist influence on public opinion rated very low (probably quite correctly), but the writers regard pacifists merely as persons unwilling to participate in war and show no understanding of the positive aspect of pacifist policy in relation to the menace of fascism and war.

★

The "peace movements" with which the pamphlet is mainly concerned are the League of Nations Union, the Labour Party, the TUC, and certain prominent writers like A. A. Milne and Beverley Nichols. It defines the Peace Movements as being "all the 39 organisations which, under the leadership of the League of Nations Union, took part in the organisation of the Peace Ballot (1934-35) together with all sections of the Labour Movement not included in that list."

The purpose of the pamphlet now begins to become clear. It is apparently to defend the Labour Party against Conservative charges of being responsible for the "appeasement" policy of the 1930s and to fix upon the Conservative Governments of those days the label of "the guilty men of Munich." In this context the Labour Party's rejection of Lansbury and Ponsonby becomes an argument in its favour. The evidence produced has little diffi-

culty in showing that the Left was more aware of the dangers of fascism than the Right, that it was a Conservative Government which was responsible for the Hoare-Laval pact over Abyssinia, that the peace ballot was an expression of opinion in favour of collective security against aggression which the Conservatives tried to prevent being held, that from 1931 on the Conservatives had such an overwhelming majority in Parliament that even if the opposition had been against rearmament (which is denied) the Government could have ignored it, and that it was sympathy with dictators (as shown in the Spanish Civil War) and dislike of the USSR which were basically responsible for appeasement.

★

On the whole, this analysis is probably correct—but where do we go from here? Having apparently proved that in the 1930s the Labour Party was really more bellicose than the Tories, what conclusions are we expected to draw? The pamphlet itself warns us that the correct policy for 1936 is not, and cannot, be the correct policy for 1958. What then? Presumably we must await the subsequent pamphlets in the series!

The reviewer is Chairman of the War Resisters' International.

If Britain disarms

THOSE who sincerely believe that an unarmed Britain would be invaded are reminded that such an act of aggression is not inevitable. Britain will no longer present a threat to the security of another country, and one of the main reasons for aggression will have been removed.

If Britain were unarmed there would be at least as much likelihood of an occupation by America as by Russia, since America requires British bases as part of her defence system.

The problem of dealing with foreign occupation might, therefore, also arise if America refused to evacuate the bases in Britain. The problem is kept in better perspective if invasion or occupation is not associated only with fear of Russia.

NON-CO-OPERATION

FRIENDLY PERSUASION is basic in the pacifist method of dealing with individuals, but refusal to co-operate in the suppression of freedom is also an essential part of pacifism.

The pacifist will therefore refuse—by disobeying bad laws or orders—to co-operate as he now refuses to be conscripted for military purposes. His ultimate aim will be not only to obtain the repeal of bad laws and orders, but to take away the power of the usurping regime.

How long policies of violence can continue depends to a large extent on the degree of co-operation given by the victims of oppression, exploitation or war, whether as subject peoples, slaves or conscripts.

Pacifists must, therefore, not only themselves refuse to support or sanction any such violence but must endeavour to convince others of the moral necessity for such action, and persuade them to assist in it.

The pacifist answer to exploitation and oppression, as to war and aggression, is non-co-operation and any form of direct action which does not involve violence.

It might, for instance, be necessary to refuse to do what the law requires, to insist on doing something forbidden or not normally done, or even to refuse continuing in normal work.

By such activity and willingness to suffer the consequences the pacifist hopes to achieve two results. Firstly, to change the attitude of those who are perpetrating violence or acquiescing in it. Secondly, to change policies, social institutions or laws in which violence is inherent.

—From "What is Pacifism?" (6d., The Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1).

ON THE FRONTIER

By the Rev. Tom Wardle

IT is already being said that a new radicalism is beginning to emerge in Britain, or that the old radical tradition is being reborn. It was no less than Karl Marx who gave us the definition of radicalism. "To be radical," he said, "is to go to the root of a matter. And the root of the matter for man is man himself."

This understanding of radicalism describes the attitude of Aldermaston marchers and Swaffham demonstrators who felt themselves to be asserting their humanity in a situation which presents the appear-

ance of being more and more dominated by non-human forces. The Voters' Veto movement has this quality too; it is a defence of individuality rather than a political act properly so-called. Christopher Farley summed up the grounds of the radical revolt in PN, March 27:

"On all fronts principles have been abandoned because the vision of man as an individual who matters, with cultural and spiritual needs has been sacrificed." I want to match the quotation with another one from Paul Tillich, "The Protestant Era," p. 288:

"If human beings feel that their destiny is taken out of their hands, that an objective process on which they have no influence throws them on the street today, draws them into a big machine as parts and tools tomorrow, and will drive them into a war of extinction the day after tomorrow, then no other result than utter hopelessness can be expected."

Not deep enough

Young people on the Aldermaston March and in CND groups up and down the country are wrenching themselves out of that situation of hopelessness which has kept so many of their elders bound to a life of escapism. They are to be commended for this; it may be the first move out of a condition which was fast becoming locked in despair. But other things have to be said.

The first is that any analysis of the contemporary social malaise in political or even sociological terms does not go deep enough. Why, for example, it may be asked, have we lost "the vision of man as an individual who matters?" Tillich's reply would be that "the spiritual disintegration of our day consists in the loss of an ultimate meaning of life by the people of Western civilisation. And with the loss of the meaning of life, they have lost personality and community." (Ibid. 288.)

People can get along for quite some time, and most especially when they are young, with a concept of meaning expressible in political terms. Early twentieth century radicalism had this character; men lived and worked and suffered for the vision of a society that was to come. Even where this radicalism was supported by religion, the religious contribution was largely in the hallowing of the vision—the free society became the Kingdom of God on earth. Religious faith was understood to be equated with an optimism that indi-

vidual and social life could be perfected.

Yet it did not work out. Crises presented themselves and the radicals went under. For some the crisis was the crisis of power—they came to office! For some the crisis of the First World War; for some the crisis of personal conflict; for some the crisis of illness or age. By the time the First World War was over the pattern of compromise had been fixed, the vision was already in ruins.

It is not enough to bemoan this fact and to hail a new generation of radicals determined to maintain the faith. How do they know, how do we know, that the same thing will not happen to them? What is social radicalism worth to the bereaved man, the anxious man, the old man? There arise from time to time circumstances wherein a person may not live by a social vision alone. And if one generation may ban the bomb, who is to say that another will not re-introduce it?

What I am trying to say here is that true radicalism (in my opinion) does not stem from perfectionist views about the nature of man or the possibilities of social reform. Such views are liable to end in disillusion, they have no endurance value, they are psychologically off-key. Where they are held with excessive vigour they are almost always the product of a basic personal insecurity about the whole business.

Biblical realism

They have nothing to say to the individual in the desperation of great personal need; they do not refer to the ultimate meaning of life because their answers are always in terms of social goals, never in terms of individual salvation. They have nothing to say about the meaning of life in the event of their failure, for they have not embraced the meaning of death.

The old-style radicalism started off with a Christian social gospel which had some genuine insights in it and some phoney ones. The new-style radicalism begins with no metaphysics at all except the idea that individuals are important and annihilation is bad. Sooner or later it will have to grapple with the metaphysical problem if it is to have any effect on the older and the disillusioned. A radicalism founded on a realistic positioning in the face of the precariousness of life and the mystery of death would be a trenchant force indeed. There is evidence of a determined swing now towards a Biblical realism in religion which is worthy of examination. After all, he who has not resolved the problem of God has not solved anything.



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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

MR. SANDYS said, without contradiction, in the Defence Debate "The Government and the Labour Opposition were in agreement that Britain must continue to have hydrogen bombs and make her own contribution to the nuclear deterrent." If Labour wins the election and war comes millions of Europeans, Asians and Africans will die from the effects of the "fall-out." It is not clear whether Frank Dawtry proposes to vote Labour, but if so, will he be able to say that this slaughter happened without his approval and support? Faced with holocaust would Frank Dawtry say (if he is still alive) "I'm glad I voted Labour"? I wonder. Yes; it is passing strange that, as he suggests, no international pacifist body supports the Peace News line.—**WALLACE HANCOCK, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.**

It is perhaps unfortunate that what are essentially group expressions of personal conscience become labelled, for legitimate campaigning purposes, with snappy titles.

Before "Voters' Veto"—and indeed before the era of nuclear war—many pacifists had found themselves disfranchised. Because we regarded war as the culmination of wrong objectives and wrong methods we could only vote for candidates who genuinely worked for radical changes in society, and did not advocate violent means of achieving them.

Our friends who are worried by "Voters' Veto" seem to rate the "lowest common factor" sort of mass political power grouping as of greater importance than the highest personal conviction expressed by the refusal to choose the best of two shades of grey.

It's the man himself I am going to vote for—and I can think of many Labour MPs and candidates whose personal integrity rates much higher than their Party's policy, even though I regret compromises their own consciences prompt them to make.

But, by and large, I can no more vote for a Labour H-bomb policy than for a Tory one—indeed, I find the Tory position on the whole more rational and honest. Colonial, war on want, social and educational programmes are vital to me, but I know it is a mockery of public conscience to suggest that these problems can be solved along with a genocidal "defence" policy.

We must look for new men, begin again from the bottom, seeking to quicken the human conscience wherever we can, and no longer place our trust in power-seeking groups whose past policies bedevil their future programmes.—**HARRY F. MISTER, 42 Uplands Park Road, Enfield, Middx.**

I HAVE read with interest the contributions in your columns relating to the above. Personally I cannot subscribe to this campaign and would like to state my reasons:

1. The people most likely to use the Voters' Veto are those of Labour and Liberal sympathies. Where they use the Veto, it thus operates in the Conservative interest and weakens the Labour and Liberal Parties. Yet, on this very issue of nuclear disarmament, as well as on almost all the public moral problems of our time, the Labour and Liberal Parties are nearer and more sympathetic to the policies of nuclear disarmament and pacifism than are the Conservatives. To exercise the Voters' Veto is to maim our friends as they fight our foes, and to cut off our own nose to spite our own face.

2. We cannot expect these friends to remain as fully co-operative as in the past if we deliberately sabotage their electoral prospects. Will they not thereafter steer clear of those who have acted harmfully to them?

3. Nuclear disarmament is only one of a number of public moral issues with which Peace News' readers are concerned. Because a candidate cannot go all the way with them on this matter, are they to withhold support from him, although he stands with them and against their opponents on very many other matters?

4. The electorate should not be expected, or encouraged, to disenfranchise themselves because they cannot find a candidate after

their own heart on one among many grave matters.

5. The franchise is a personal privilege and responsibility. Obviously there must be pressure from all candidates, but I do not feel it is the prerogative of any group of people who do not themselves put up a candidate to advise the electorate to abstain from voting.—**CONSTANCE WILLIS (Mrs. H. G.), The Manse, 34 Heddon Court Ave., Cockfosters, Herts.**

CRITICS of Direct Action's Voters' Veto have objected that it is negative, but so is the Peace Pledge, yet that does not necessarily make it pointless.

John Prevett may be fortunate enough to have a Christian socialist pacifist in his constituency. I have not, and therefore since 1945 have consistently "spoilt" my voting paper with some pacifist statement. I prefer this to the lesser evil of voting for a war supporter, Tory or Labour.

However, there are other constituencies in which there will be pacifist candidates. Some—those in the Fellowship Party, the Christian Party and the ILP—also believe in public ownership. These candidates surely have some right to expect support from pacifists, socialists and Christians?—**RONALD S. MALLONE, 141 Woolacombe Road, Blackheath, London, S.E.3.**

March from Aldermaston

LIKE many other pacifists I have found it difficult to decide my attitude towards the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, but being a great believer in the "Inevitability of Gradualness," I have always felt that their objective was a necessary step to our ultimate goal of total disarmament.

I therefore rejoiced to read your leading article in Peace News, April 3.

Your last reason for supporting the Campaign seems to me to give the complete answer to those in doubt. May I quote . . . "Once they (nuclear weapons) are abandoned, other weapons become so much useless junk. Inefficient militarism is demonstrable foolishness." In other words, a revolution in thinking will have begun.—**EVELYN PEAT, Borrers Platt, Ditchling, Sussex.**

Honours

IT was disappointing to read in Vera Brittain's memory of Laurence Housman (PN, March 6) the attempts made to obtain an honour for him in the Coronation list. I was even more sorry to hear according to her that Laurence Housman himself would have liked such an honour.

Why should the Establishment dole out such things to such people, and why should such people expect or need them?

What are these honours but the tinsel of a system that rebels should abhor?

Give me Jim Middleton's reaction, when the question of an honour was raised on his retirement for the Secretaryship of the Labour Party: "Honours! I have had my honours, I knew Keir Hardie.—**ARTHUR BAYNTON, 9 Bedford Street, Woburn, Bletchley, Bucks.**

Radical Newsletter

THERE has been a heartening response to my appeal to all Liberals who support unilateral nuclear disarmament and a more progressive outlook on international affairs to rally into the Radical Fellowship and encourage their fellow Liberals to do likewise.

Would you, through the medium of your valuable paper, make it known that the first number of the Radical Newsletter is now available and can be obtained from me for three pence per copy plus postage.

Mrs. Liesl Dales, who spent fourteen days in Holloway for her part in the Swaffham affair, has contributed a thought-provoking article entitled "Fight Against Atomic Death" which is well worth reading.—**ALFRED NORRIS, 136, Richmond Rd., Gillingham, Kent.**

Displaced persons

MY attention has been drawn to the possibility of your readers misunderstanding my letter as published in the issue of Peace News of February 20 under the above heading.

I would not like those who are working hard on behalf of the Displaced Persons in Germany to be unfairly criticised as a

result of my letter. I am informed that much is being done in Germany today for the displaced persons by the German authorities and voluntary agencies as well as by international and foreign agencies. The Germans are supporting and helping the refugees, and as they cannot return to their own countries or emigrate, are trying to integrate them.

The sole purpose of the protest issued by Group Captain Cheshire and Miss Ryder is to draw attention to the failure of the Ger-

man Federal Government to honour its treaty obligations to recompense the stateless survivors of the concentration camps still in Germany notwithstanding the compensation and pensions being granted to some of those who were in fact responsible for some of the things which went on in the concentration camps.

I hope this letter will serve to make clear any ambiguity which my earlier one may have unwittingly contained.—**CHRISTINA M. HOLLAND, 2 Clarendon Road, Colliers Wood, London, S.W.19.**

Non-violence on T.V.

"MEETING POINT," a popular Sunday BBC Television programme, was given over to a discussion of non-violence last Sunday, with the Rev. Michael Scott being questioned by a business man, Geoffrey Smith, an actor, John Neville, and an anonymous QC.

Non-violence was not so negative as it sounded Michael Scott explained by way of introduction. It was an attempt to reach methods of resistance to evil, injustice and aggression by right means. "I believe it to be very positive, and I believe it to be compatible with Christ's religion."

Geoffrey Smith: "Isn't it right that you feel so deeply about these problems, particularly the aspect of non-violence, that you yourself have deliberately chosen to go to prison?"

"Yes. In South Africa there was a passive-resistance movement against unjust law and racial discrimination, and I sided with the non-European people there in protest against the segregation law."

"How many times have you been to prison?"

"Once in South Africa and once in Britain, in connection with the Direct Action Against Nuclear War."

CONSCIENCE

Turning to the use of civil disobedience, Geoffrey Smith asked how far Michael Scott felt responsibility for the consequences of his actions. Might not his championing the rights of native people harden the views of the government.

Scott: "I think that each one of us has to act in accordance with his own individual mind and conscience, but I feel it is impossible to be detached: one is part of a system and inevitably one is either for or against what is being done by any particular government at any particular time. One pays one's taxes, one acquiesces in injustice or one does not acquiesce. It seems to me that we have a duty to dissociate ourselves from actions, policies, laws which are fundamentally wrong."

Geoffrey Smith: "Can we get a little closer to what you mean by non-violence. It must be more than passive resistance. It isn't just a question of lying across the road and stopping lorries or being beastly to policemen. It is, in fact, a moral force, isn't it, that you are seeking? You've got to find something to take the place of physical force."

Scott: "Yes, it is a method of resistance to unjust policies. It does not of course prevent the use of constitutional methods when these are possible. Civil disobedience can be used where millions of people are disfranchised—and on this question (of the H-bomb) millions of people are."

QC: "Don't you think your methods sometimes lead to law-breaking?"

"Yes. But which is the highest law?"

"Isn't it leading people astray for a priest to do things which bring him before the magistrates?"

"One does not break the law because one disrespects the law, but because one has respect for it."

"You accept the penalties for breaking the law, is that it?"

"Yes. Rather than acquiesce in this injustice you accept the penalty."

John Neville: "One cannot help notice

ing that the incident at Swaffham did attract quite a large amount of publicity. Does this worry you, or is it an intrinsic part of the campaign of non-violence?"

"Well, it's certainly not the main motive. The motive is to dissociate oneself from the actions of the State on the particular question. I do think it is important to try to bring it to a large number of people's notice."

QC: "By deliberately choosing to go to prison, was that not something by way of publicity and propaganda?"

Scott: "No. We were expected to give certain undertakings which we were not prepared to give."

"You said earlier this was a matter for everyone's personal conscience . . . Is there not some difference in acting as part of an organisation, the Direct Action Group, for instance?"

"The Direct Action Group is formed of people who think alike on this particular subject of non-violence—they disagree about a great many other things . . . On this question of civil disobedience we are pretty well in agreement. That action was a common action, taken in fellowship, so to speak, by people who believed in the same things, who had the same standards of values."

"Do you think it fair to those who have the job of keeping law and order in the State, particularly the police force?"

"In this case it was all done with the utmost good humour by both sides. Of course it does not always work out that way; in this particular case it did, and has perhaps set a standard. I think we are going to see civil disobedience used more and more in the future: in protests and as a means of bringing about changes in policy, and changes in law. Violent demonstrations are past. We are moving into a period of non-violence. We have got to, for in the last resort the use of force can destroy us. We've simply got to find the techniques that will enable us to keep the peace and yet settle our differences."

"What really is the objective you have got in mind?"

"I don't think I've used the word God in the course of these discussions. But I do believe that Britain has a vocation at this stage of history. We are crossing the threshold into a new era and it maybe a revolutionary period in this history of the world: the question of the use of this vastly destructive force which has come into its hands. . . . Britain has a very great opportunity of showing the world another way than the resort to these ghastly deterrents which could destroy us. But it's not something we can say is Britain's responsibility. It's for each one of us. Each of us holds the centre of the salient in the fight against evil, and, whether we are a doctor or a docker, politician, parson or teacher or factory worker, each of us has that particular section of the salient to hold. If we don't hold it we have contributed to our own defeat."

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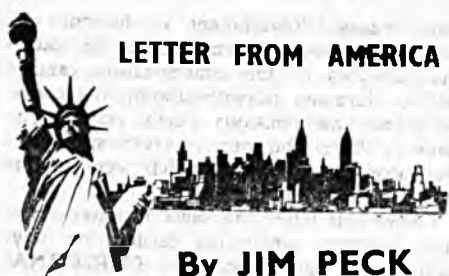
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BEHIND-THE-SCENE WANGLES TO CONTINUE H-TESTS



LETTER FROM AMERICA

By JIM PECK

WHEN we crewmen of "Golden Rule" and "Phoenix" were interviewing Semeon Tsarapkin, head of the Soviet delegation in Geneva last December, I couldn't resist asking him whether there are in the Soviet Union forces similar to our Pentagon, Atomic Energy Commission, etc., which are unalterably opposed to reaching an agreement for ending nuclear tests.

His reply was, of course: "No, we are completely united." I had realised in advance that his answer would be just such a Party cliché. Yet I wanted to indicate our awareness that in Russia, as in any other country, the viewpoint of the military and like-minded forces is for continuing the tests and for stopping at nothing to win the arms race.

I wanted to indicate our awareness that, probably, this difference in viewpoint exists within the Russian delegation itself, as it does within the US and British delegations. That the latter two delegations are divided as to the desirability of reaching an agreement seemed well known by a number of newspapermen covering the Geneva conference.

Guilty party

In the US the month of March was marked with particularly intensive activity by both opponents and proponents of bomb-testing.

On the stop-testing side was the month-long campaign by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, climaxing on Easter week-end (the same week-end as the Aldermaston March) with protest walks in six cities initiated by the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

On the continue-testing side was a drastic manoeuvre (which boomeranged) by the military aimed at blocking an agreement, coupled with a campaign to get the US delegation to quit Geneva.

The manoeuvre coincided with the arrival of Prime Minister Macmillan who was said to be bringing a compromise agreement on ending the tests. It consisted in leaking to the New York Times a story which would cause rejection of any such agreement.

The story dealt with a test (Project Argus) conducted by the AEC many months previous which allegedly proved that we can be protected from the bomb by a magic film of radiation created by

Saboteurs of Geneva talks

explosion of counter-bombs in the atmosphere. The falsity of this claim was clearly shown in a statement by Physics Professor Selove, a vice-chairman of the Federation of American Scientists.

But, to come back to the leaked story, Congressmen had been informed of Project Argus at the time it took place, but had been instructed to remain mum because it was top secret information. They first learned about its having been made public when they read it in the New York Times. And even then they were told by Pentagon officials that the information was still "classified."

Several Congressmen were irked, particularly Senator Anderson of New Mexico, who proceeded to release so-called confidential letters he had received showing a marked difference of opinion between the Pentagon and the AEC regarding the rate of nuclear fall-out.

Intensive activity

This correspondence revealed that fall-out of strontium 90 is greater in the US (particularly the northern section) than in any other country, and furthermore that fall-out drifts down to earth in two years rather than in seven, as claimed previously by the AEC. These revelations forced AEC Chairman McCone to announce a brand-new investigation into the entire question of fall-out.

The guiltiest party in the AEC's minimising of fall-out peril, according to Senator Anderson, is the Commission's former chairman Lewis Strauss, who still plays a key role in shaping AEC policy. In an interview which I and other pacifists obtained following a week-long fast at AEC headquarters a year ago, Strauss expressed the viewpoint that had it not been for AEC's policy Russia would have attacked the US some years ago.

With his name now before the Senate for confirmation as Secretary of Commerce, some Senators want to inspect records of the Lewis (Sr.) and Rosa Strauss Foundation, of which he is President. Last year the Foundation awarded \$5,000 and its "Albert Einstein" medal to Edward Teller, the scientist known as "father of the H-bomb." This year the award went to Willard Libby, the scientist who, along with Teller, has been chief propagandist of the AEC viewpoint belittling the danger of fall-out and endorsing continuation of tests.

Despite these revelations, Americans, unfortunately, did not turn out for the Easter week-end protest walks in numbers even slightly comparable to the 15,000 in the Aldermaston march.



Photo: Roger Rawlinson.

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRANCIS WILLIAMS FROM LABOUR VETERAN JAMES HUDSON

THE FUTURE IS WITH THE MARCHERS

JAMES HUDSON, before becoming a Labour MP in 1923 was a Manchester school-teacher. He retired from the Parliamentary scene in 1955 at the age of 74, after having been Private Parliamentary Secretary to Chancellor of the Exchequer Philip Snowden in the Labour Governments of 1924 and 1929. He was President of the Board of Trade in 1951.

"I have been in every peace agitation since the Boer War, but have never seen such a manifestation as this," was his comment on this year's Aldermaston March.

I LIKED your article in "Forward" on the Aldermaston Marchers, most of all because you made not the least attempt, as some other journalists did, to play down its importance, indeed its magnificence.

One can at least respect what one rejects in your argument. You knew how to recognise that there was a genuine response by ordinary people. And you were right, too, in your estimate that a vastly larger number of people than those in Trafalgar Square were profoundly disturbed by the situation.

If the Labour Party could evoke in their membership anything like the enthusiasm and singleness of purpose which the marchers showed, the Party would be nearer success than some of the predictions indicate. That goes for the Tories and Liberals also.

Among the mass of young people little interest is registered in the sayings and doings of any of the parties. But the march was different.

I am therefore distressed that you seemed unable to rise to the height of an occasion whose presence you fully admitted. Was it really necessary for you to claim, as you did, that we must keep foremost in the minds of all in authority the necessity for such a balance of forces that no nation or group can any longer hope for victory?

Opting out of history

You tell the marchers they cannot "opt out of history." What else but opting out of history are you doing? When did the balance of power, persisted in from before the Battle of Blenheim to the Battle of Britain, bring anything other than War? On a thousand Socialist platforms we asserted 50 years ago that the balance of power was like a giant pyramid that men sought to base on its apex. It always toppled over. It always will. The next time will be the last. The marchers know that. They have a better sense of the realities than you.

Your recommendation of the Gaitskell plan offers firmer ground for the marchers. But they are almost sure to ask: if the neutral zone is so good for Germany, why should it not also be good for us? Unfortunately, it will prove harder to get the missile bases out of Norfolk than to persuade Adenauer to rely on a neutral zone. Yet there is an ever growing understanding that Labour must recognise that nought but catastrophe awaits every British home unless we get rid of those bases. These are among the hard facts of the world you want the marchers to face.

The merits of a modified Gaitskell plan are clouded over in the minds of the marchers and others by the Labour Party's record on German rearmament. We are now watching not only the re-emergence of the Reichswehr but of their essential accompaniments—Krupp and the Nazis.

A neutral zone would be designed to confer benefits of security on Germany which has done so little to deserve them. Surely our own nation deserves something better than the constant threat of annihilation which arises from the presence of the missile bases.

The policy of a neutral Western Europe to include the British Isles is feasible. It would really justify you in asking the marchers "to move forward, step by step, to a total removal of the fear of nuclear war." As it is, you ask them to march backwards. Thank God; they know better.

Of course, the neutral zone is a dangerous expedient anyhow. It will leave the two great contestants in possession of the field with their missiles, their tests and their potential fling into final world madness.

There is a way out

Pursued with courage, the neutral zone will clear a great area of the world and the consciences of millions from the thralldom of humbug if not of anxiety. At the same time it will make room for a new and increasing world moral protest of abhorrence at any and every preparation which, to give them their proper title, the two great monsters of the world design for its destruction.

Or have you lost faith in moral protest and the suffering necessary to sustain it? That would be indeed to opt out of history. There is no easy way out for the world. But there is a way. Tolstoy and Gandhi are not dead nor is Calvary forgotten.

Let me conclude in unison with you as I began. You accepted the moral case for the marchers. You say the present tension can only, end after long and patient negotiation. Agreed!

We are not getting anywhere, tagging along at the military coat tails of America. I am sure Mr. Gaitskell could not possibly make as bad a job as Macmillan has done in an effort to induce sanity in the White House, if he were deprived of the Norfolk bases. They have not served the present Prime Minister very well.

The future is with the marchers. One can claim that for them if not for all their leaders. I hope the Labour Party will earn its right to enter into the future with them. "The Observer" cartoon depicted Gaitskell and Bevan peering anxiously into the crowd for Frank Cousins from the top of the Nelson column. It was a case of mistaken identity. I like to think the two figures on the column were Hardie and Lansbury who would have known how to exercise the leadership the situation demands.

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DIARY

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Friday, April 17

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Carwardine's Cafe, Baldwin St. Discussion and Social Evening with Peace News Directors and Staff. All West Country readers and PPU AGM delegates warmly invited. Refreshments available. Peace News.

BRIGHTON: 3 p.m. Royal Pavilion; Nuclear Exhibition, "The Chance of a Lifetime," Opening Ceremony (open until April 23). CND.

BEWDLEY, WORCS: Manor Ho. Annual Conf. Chief Speaker Dr. Douglas Latta. Apply Vivian Worthington, Garthnewydd Community Ho., Brecon Rd., Merthyr Tydfil, Glam. Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

Saturday, April 18

BRISTOL: 2 p.m. The Bristowe, College Green; Annual General Meeting. All PPU members welcome. Tickets 2s. 6d. from Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. PPU.

BRIGHTON: 3 p.m. from The Level, Second Nuclear Disarmament Week poster parade. CND.

Monday, April 20

LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. Central Hall (Room No. 9), Renshaw St. "The Cross and the Bomb," Rev. Brian A. Greet, Alan Litherland, Rev. George R. Maland. FOR, MPF.

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. Royal Pavilion. Women's Meeting. Mrs. Antoinette Pirie and Mrs. Anne Clark. CND.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., "Inquest on the AGM," Central London PPU.

LONDON, N.7: 8 p.m. Central Library, Holloway Rd., Public Meeting, "Nuclear Disarmament," Bill McLroy, Islington Debating Society.

Tuesday, April 21

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Dundonald Dr., Leigh-on-Sea. J. Allen Skinner. "Current Affairs," PPU.

E. SHEEN: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., Sheen Lane. "My Visit to Nigeria," Arlo Tatum, Richmond PPU.

Wednesday, April 22

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. Royal Pavilion, Pianoforte Recital by Denis Matthews in aid of Nuclear Disarmament Week. Admission 6s. CND.

LONDON, S.W.4: 7.45 p.m. 27 Clapham Park Rd., "Vegetarianism and the New World Order," R. Lightowler, Clapham and District PPU.

Thursday, April 23

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. The Dome, Anti-H-bomb Rally. "Construction—not Destruction," Michael Foot, Rev. Michael Scott, Harold Steele. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., Elsie Pracey, "Background to African Racial Conflict," PPU/For.

LONDON, N.5: 7.30 p.m. Steenvoer House, 16 Aberdeen Rd., Annual St. George's Day Service for Peace. Prayer Crusade for World Peace.

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Melbourne Place, Sybil Morrison, "Pacifism in the Nuclear Age," PPU.

CROYDON: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Croydon, "Conflict Over Berlin," Bertha Pracey, Croydon WIL and Council of Peace Groups.

Friday, April 24

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall (Room A), Lecture, "Breaking Through the Thought Barrier," Dr. Alan Litherland. Toldas.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m., Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Saturday, April 25

NEWTOWN, MONT: 3 p.m. English Congregational Church, Regional Conference. 6.45 p.m. Public Meeting, "The Cross and the Bomb," Rev. D. R. Thomas, Miss V. Cutting. For.

LONDON, S.W.1: 2.7 p.m. Kent Room, Caxton Hall, AGM Labour Peace Fellowship.

Monday, April 27

LONDON, W.C.1: 7 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, Fenner Brockway, MP, George Craddock, MP, AGM. No Subscription Council. Refreshments.

Tuesday, April 28

BIRMINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bull St., "Russia," Stuart Morris, AGM West Midlands PPU.

STEVENAGE: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Cutty's Lane. Film show and discussion on future of nuclear disarmament activities. CND.

Thursday, April 30

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., Group Discussion, PPU. E.10 and E.11.

Friday, May 1

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Public Meeting, "Is Peace Possible," Vicky, James Cameron, Kathleen Lonsdale, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison. PPU.

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SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum, PYAG.

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MANCHESTER: 1.2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd., Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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FENNER BROCKWAY, MP, URGES INVESTIGATION INTO

Revolt in Britain's island base

FOUR hundred miles south west of Ceylon in the Indian Ocean there is a necklace of eight small islands circling a coral-reefed lagoon. They must surely form one of Nature's loveliest gems. The sea, the beaches, the palms, the coral, the calm lagoon.

Yet this atoll of islands, so remote, so untouched, has suddenly become involved in the world conflict of our time. It is the subject of controversy between Governments, of High Commissioner's dispatches, of negotiations in Colombo and London, of Questions in the House of Commons.

Is it to provide a base from which jet planes will fly with nuclear bombs; is that lagoon, 12 miles across, 45 fathoms deep, to shelter submarines from which rocket missiles can be let loose?

The atoll of Addu is part of the Maldivian group of islands which became a British Protectorate 72 years ago by an agreement between the Sultan and the Governor of Ceylon. Britain undertook responsibility for defence and foreign affairs. The Maldivian Government remained responsible for internal affairs.

Until 10 years ago Britain ignored the Maldives, ignored them rather shamefully. During the last World War 10,000 of its population of 80,000 died, not in battle, not from bombing, but from starvation. Their rice from Burma was cut off.

Although the RAF, driven from Singapore, took shelter on one of the islands, although Britain had its war base at Colombo, less than two hours' flight away, no help was given. More than one in ten of the people, men, women and children, died of hunger.

After the war, the Colombo Plan was established to aid the people of South East Asia. Not one halfpenny has gone to the Maldives. When the World Health Authority offered help to the Maldivian Government, the British Commissioner in Ceylon objected, insisting that aid must be offered through him. The hand held out by the World Health Organisation remains unclashed, although infantile mortality on the islands is the highest in the world, and leprosy, malaria and syphilis are prevalent.

There is one doctor for all the islands, and he was trained not by one of the scholarships provided by the British Government to its Protectorates, but by the Maldivian Government itself.

Terribly poor

The people are terribly poor. They live by fish and copra, traded to Ceylon and India. The fishermen set forth in their little sailing boats not knowing whether the wind will turn and drive them back or sweep them to distant Aden. There are only two steaming ships to link the 17 atolls of the Maldives, an 8,000 ton vessel bought by the Government two years ago and another chartered from Denmark.

A quite lively democracy stirs the islands. The people are Moslems, but non-Purdah Moslems, the women unrestricted. There is universal suffrage, an elected Sultan, a Parliament of 54 members. The present difficulties with Britain reflect the political controversies which sweep the islands.

They arise from the decision of Mr. Bandaranaike, the Sinhalese Prime Minister, in 1956 that the concession of British air and naval bases in Ceylon should end. Seeking alternatives, the British air and naval pundits turned their eyes towards the atoll at Addu, with its level-surfaced island of Gan, where the RAF had taken refuge in the war, and the large, deep lagoon, so ideally protected, first by the circle of islands, then by the ring of coral.

Man could not have improved on Nature. Gan island lies at the mouth of the one channel where the coral reef is pierced. No vessel can enter without observation from the island.



So in 1956 the British High Commissioner in Ceylon and the Prime Minister of the Maldives initialled the heads of an agreement for an RAF staging post on Gan island and for a wireless station on Hitadu Island, to the north-east of the atoll. How happy the military planners must have been! They had their communications point to the north, their air base to the south, their protected naval retreat in the centre.

For these rare privileges the British Government agreed to pay £2,000 a year, a trifling sum, almost unnoticed in the Defence Estimates, but to the poverty-stricken Maldivian Government, inexperienced in the bargaining of military concessions, a rich prize.

The agreement was initiated by a Government which followed a minor political upheaval in the Maldives. Parliament decided to substitute an elected President for the elected Sultan and to become a Republic. The causes behind this pocket revolution are not clear. It was short-lived. Within nine months the Sultan was re-established.

Payment of labourers

Meanwhile, although the agreement had not been ratified, the RAF began work on the base. They razed to the ground the houses and the plantations on Gan Island and removed its 800 families. From Hitadu, they transferred 200 families.

Although this happened over two years ago, I am assured that no compensation whatsoever has been paid.

Then complications began. The new Maldivian Government, which accompanied the restoration of the Sultan, insisted that work on the bases should stop until the agreement was ratified and the details settled. The core of the contention was the payment of the labourers. The RAF housed and fed them, but payment was made not in cash but by chits exchangeable only for articles provided by NAAFI. The Maldivian Government asked that they should provide the labour, paying wages in cash, and that the RAF should contract with them for this purpose. The British retorted by importing 3,000 labourers from Pakistan.

When the Pakistani labourers arrived, the Maldivian Government instructed their people to stop work. The RAF carried on. The High Commissioner in Ceylon then invited the Maldivians to send representatives to negotiate at Colombo not only the problem of the bases, but the constitutional status of the islands.

The negotiations began hopefully. Britain consented to recognise the island as a "composite, sovereign and independent State." The Maldivians demanded that independence should include freedom to negotiate with foreign Governments and with international agencies, such as the World Health Organisation. The British wished to retain the right to veto.

The discussions had reached this stage when news came of a revolt on the Addu Atoll, where the RAF is operating. It was announced that the population desired to form a Republic independent from the rest of the Maldives, and that the revolt had extended to another atoll (Huadiva) and to the neighbouring island, Fua Mulak. RAF personnel visited Huadiva and alleged that the people were starving. The Maldivian Government sent three months' supply of food and their police force, numbering 100, to restore order. There was a clash, in which one man is reported killed and eight injured.

One cannot judge the truth. The Maldivian Government denies there is famine, but abysmal poverty is undoubted. It strikes one as a little late for the British to become

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concerned after years of neglect of the Protectorate, but certainly the people of Addu atoll will have welcomed higher standards of life following the RAF installations and become discontented with their normal and intolerable privations.

The Maldivian Government allege that the RAF, and particularly its liaison officer, Major Phillips, have incited the revolt. They declined to continue negotiations unless the Major was withdrawn. He has retired.

What now? The door is open for a continuation of the discussions, but a thorough investigation is needed. I would suggest that India and Ceylon should be brought in.

Britain should realise that the destiny of Asian territories is not now primarily a matter for negotiation with London. An Asian consciousness has developed just as an African consciousness has developed. At Bandung as at Accra the Governments of the Continents have declared that the fate of any part is their concern.

It would be a recognition of the new balance of influence if the British Government were to say, in Asia as well as in Africa, that any conference deciding the future of a territory should include representatives at least of the Commonwealth Governments in the Continent involved.

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Vicky, Cameron, Huddleston, for London peace meetings

TWO big London peace meetings are to take place next month, notable for the fact that both have the support of pacifists and non-pacifists.

On May 5, Vicky, the Evening Standard cartoonist, and James Cameron, News Chronicle columnist, both non-pacifists, are to be on an "Any Questions" panel at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, with Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale and Stuart Morris of the Peace Pledge Union. Sybil Morrison, PPU organiser, will be in the chair.

"I shall be glad to receive written questions on current topics in advance of the meeting," Sybil Morrison, who is organising the meeting for the PPU, told Peace News. Leaflets for distribution are available from 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

"Modern Warfare Challenges Christians" is the title of a meeting in the Albert Hall on Monday, May 25, sponsored by the Friends Peace Committee (Quakers) and Christian Action.

Father Huddleston, the Rev. Mervyn Stockwood, Bishop-designate of Southwark, Professor Dame Kathleen Lonsdale and Victor Gollancz are among the speakers so far announced.

Growing realisation

Diana Collins, wife of Canon L. John Collins, writing in the Quaker journal, The Friend, last week said that many people were coming to realise that a demand for the abolition of nuclear weapons is in fact a demand for the abolition of war.

"Even if all stocks of these weapons were to be destroyed all over the world," she writes, "nothing would destroy the knowledge of how to make them, and any major war would become, sooner or later, a nuclear war. We have, indeed, eaten of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil."

Almost every church in London and the Home Counties will receive a notice of the meeting.

I HAVE waited hopefully to read some reply to Lady Graham-Little, either officially from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or from some of the other organisations or individuals that supported the Aldermaston march.

So far the only answer published comes from one of the marchers, Mr. Schlesinger, who says that "the marchers did not demand that countries like Tibet should give up their right of self-defence," but only that "nuclear weapons should not be used as a form of defence."

Here then is a great gulf between some of the supporters of nuclear disarmament and pacifists, for this is no pacifist answer, and unfortunately Lady Graham-Little, along with millions of others, does not know the difference between those who believe in retaining conventional weapons in so-called self-defence, and those who believe that self-defence is merely another name for war, and repudiate it.

I do not propose to argue the complex issues of the Tibetan conflict for I do not know enough about it, and the picture of the present dispute is most confused and difficult to understand. But the principle underlying the two letters on the subject

New town strike against the bomb

Peace News Reporter

THE FIRST STRIKE AGAINST THE H-BOMB TOOK PLACE IN STEVENAGE (HERTS) LAST FRIDAY.

About 500 building workers in the New Town, situated about 30 miles from London, downed tools for a one-hour token stoppage and urged each of the three nuclear powers unilaterally to abandon nuclear weapons.

This action was in support of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War who have just completed a 12-day campaign against missile production in the area.

The initiative for the strike came from the Stevenage branch of the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers who were backed within a day or two by the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers and the National Union of Furniture Trade Operatives.

In drenching rain, about 50 building workmen marched some two miles from a building site to the New Town Centre where a crowd composed of all the unions supporting the stoppage was gathered.

At the Town Centre meeting, Mr. Grice, Secretary of NUFTO and Chairman of the area Trades Council, spoke in support of the strike, as one employed on construction work at a missile producing firm. All the trade union and Direct Action Committee speakers received enthusiastic applause.

Individual action

At the end, a resolution was overwhelmingly acclaimed:

"That this meeting calls on the Government to resist all pressure from those who are seeking to prevent successful negotiations to end the cold war; and to take all possible steps itself to ensure that agreement is reached for the banning of nuclear weapons. We urge the British, Russian and US Governments individually and unconditionally to give up nuclear weapons."

Throughout last week the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War were speaking to union canteen meetings, all of which decided to support the strike. News of the strike was broadcast by the BBC and shots of the strikers were shown on Independent Television.

Silent picket

On the day following the strike, Saturday, April 11, Dr. Soper, Alex Comfort and Benn Levy spoke to a crowded open-air meeting in Stevenage New Town Centre where earlier a silent picket of some 50 Direct Action supporters had stood for several hours with their posters facing the busy shops.

By the end of the campaign over 1,000 people in the town had signed the appeal to the Development Corporation to bring in alternative peaceful and constructive industry into Stevenage where over half the labour force is employed in missile production. Seventy-two people had agreed to give a contribution either weekly or in a lump sum of any worker in a missile-producing firm who left for conscientious reasons.

At a meeting on April 9, addressed by Pat Arrowsmith, Field Organiser of the Direct Action Committee, the local Labour Party decided to ask the Urban District Council for a town meeting to consider the question of missile production and alternative industry.

Plans to continue the campaign which succeeded in making nuclear weapons an issue throughout the whole area are now going ahead. For details of an April 28 film show, see Diary, page nine.

deny, and no one can be absolutely sure as to the result. There are many people who will argue that in a difficult situation Jesus was willing to take a weapon and use violence upon those men who were conducting their usury within the Temple.

It is, of course, absolutely clear that for whatever purpose the whip was used (and it seems probable that it was for the oxen and the sheep), one man, even with a whip, could have been easily overpowered by the money-changers and those trading with them. They may have despised moral values, but, nevertheless, it was the overwhelming moral force of that one man against many; the over-riding strength of His denunciation of something they knew to be wrong that drove the violators of the Temple from its precincts.

To stand aside while people pursue a course that pacifists believe to be mistaken and immoral is not easy, but the conviction remains that those who despise moral values will not be converted by violence, and that reliance upon war, whether it be with conventional weapons or nuclear weapons, can be no solution, and is in itself evil. Those who repudiate it and refuse it will, in the end, be the victors for peace.

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NUCLEAR WEAPONS MEAN TYRANNY

"NUCLEAR strategy leads to totalitarian ways of life, and reliance on nuclear weapons is rooted in totalitarian thinking," says a statement issued by the European Federation against Nuclear Arms at the end of its first Conference, which was held in Germany on April 4 and 5.

"We refuse to be parties to abandoning man to such a strategy of despair," the statement continues.

"We demand that strategy must be subordinated to politics. It is the special task of Europe to overcome the sterility of nuclear strategy in the West and by so doing we shall assist the process of political differentiation in Eastern Europe.

"We ask that nuclear energy be used solely for peaceful purposes and not misused for military aims. We hold that comprehensive, cultural and intellectual exchanges between all countries is an imperative condition of such a policy.

No defence

"This arises from our conviction that we have asserted again and again that it is impossible to justify nuclear weapons either on humane, ethical and religious, or on social, economic, political and cultural grounds. They have ceased to be weapons in the proper sense, for there is no defence against them. In fact, they create the very conditions from which it is claimed they protect us.

"We appeal to all those who prove by

their actions that they accept responsibility for human life—Christian and non-Christian, pacifist and non-pacifist—to give the utmost support to our work."

The Conference passed a resolution appealing to the Governments of France, Sweden and Switzerland and to the two chambers of the Swedish Parliament to bear in mind their responsibility to the whole of mankind, and to forego their intentions to equip with or produce nuclear weapons.

Approach to Governments

Future activities that the Federation agreed on were:

1. An approach to all European Governments to publish regularly facts and figures about radio-activity in Europe.
2. An international conference for private consultation rather than public propaganda, to be held probably in Frankfurt in the autumn.
3. Exchange of information between all national committees represented in the Federation.
4. An approach to the Swiss Government to call a conference of the Red Cross organisations to discuss the banning of nuclear weapons.

By Sybil Morrison

MORAL FORCE

I suggest that instead of Aldermaston, they (the marchers) should look at Tibet, which by an exquisite irony was being over-marched at the very time pacifists were marching. Armies of trained assassins are murdering a nation. In Tibet a free society is perishing because in their long history Tibetans have eschewed all modern means of defence, because they possess no deterrent to aggression, and are easy victims to those who despise all moral values.—Lady Graham-Little, Daily Telegraph, April 8, 1959.

in the Daily Telegraph is a matter of grave importance to pacifists.

It is always easy for the purpose of militarist propaganda to introduce the idea of a small and defenceless country over-run by "trained assassins," and then turn to pacifists and say: "Surely you would not stand by and let this happen" or "surely, if they had been strongly armed, the aggressor would have been deterred?"

The whole of history goes to show that strong arms have so far neither deterred aggression nor deterred nations from using war as a means of settling, not the dispute, which is seldom settled by war, but who is the strongest militarily, and therefore, who will dictate the so-called "peace."

So far as pacifists standing aside is concerned, it is quite impossible to impose a

pacifist solution upon a situation which arises from either a militaristic approach or a basic belief in the ultimate use of war.

Clearly the Tibetans, even though not armed with nuclear weapons, as Lady Graham-Little thinks they should be, are not pacifists and are fighting with rifles and guns in the rugged rocky passes of their mysterious land.

It may be that had they all been pacifist, that is, pledged and committed to a moral objection to the use of war in any circumstances, their country would now be irrevocably in the hands of another nation and subjected to an alien way of life.

Nevertheless, this can never be a certainty, since the strong impact of moral resistance is something that no one can

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